

PRIMITIVE MAN

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PHILIPPINE NEGRITO CULTURE: INDEPENDENT OR BORROWED?

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Mountain Province, Northern Luzon, Phil. Is.

THE present paper is an attempted answer to the following question: Have the Negritos of Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, lost their original culture, if they ever had one, and taken over from the contiguous Malayan or Indonesian peoples a culture that is merely a washed-out replica of the culture of these latter peoples? Or, is the present-day culture of the Negritos of Northern Luzon, in spite of numerous obvious borrowings from their neighbors, of a fundamentally different pattern from that of their neighbors, and hence, presumably, in so far a survival of an earlier true Negrito culture, pre-Malayan or at least non-Malayan.

This question has been raised more than once by students of Philippine ethnology, as has a similar question regarding the Negrillo culture or cultures of Africa. The significance of the problem for the culture history of the areas concerned, as well as for the culture history of the Old World in general, is well recognized. I shall not deal with the African Negrillo problem which lies far outside my personal studies, but shall confine myself to the Negritos of the Philippines, and specifically to the Negritos of the Mountain Province of Luzon, the pygmies with whom I have had personal contact.

My missionary work has for the last twenty-four years brought me into continuous daily association with the native races of Northern Luzon and has given me a speaking knowledge of several of the languages in use there. All the factual data noted in the present paper have been gathered through personal observation and investigation. Those referring to the Negritos were gathered chiefly on two ethnological expeditions in 1924 and 1927 to the Negritos of the Mountain Province, mainly those of the sub-province of Apayaw, and have been published.¹ Those referring to the adjacent peoples—Iloko, Kankanay, Kalinga, Kagayan, Isneg, and so forth,—have been gathered during the last couple of decades and more of residence and travel among them,—the last eight years chiefly in residence among the Isneg,—and are for the most part still unpublished. For the sake of convenience we shall here call these adjacent sedentary Christian and pagan peoples, "Malays", waiving the question as to their Malayan, Indonesian, or other racial relationships, and by "Malays", as used in the present paper, we understand only the "Malays" of Northern Luzon.

The language usually spoken by most of the Negritos of the Mountain Province is Ibanag, the language of the Kagayan, although in some places it differs slightly from ordinary Ibanag, and here and there shows traces of Isneg. On the other hand, the Negrito culture, in so far as it resembles the culture of the Malays, is for the most part like the Isneg, and Isneg culture differs, as we shall note, in many important respects from the culture of the other Malays of the Mountain Province. Actually most of the Negritos are in closer contact with the Christian Kagayan and Iloko than with the other Malays, although a minority are in closer contact with the Isneg and Kalinga.

This seeming anomaly, namely, linguistic identity with the Kagayan and cultural resemblance to the Isneg, is not readily accounted for. The most plausible explanation,—for which there are reasonable though not conclusive grounds,—appears to be that the Kagayan, before becoming Christian, had a culture more like that of the present-day Isneg. The point, however, though bearing

¹ "Negritos of Northern Luzon", in *Anthropos*, 1925, xx, 148-99, 399-443; "A few short visits to Negritos of Northern Luzon", in *P. W. Schmidt Festschrift*, Wien, 1928, 760-63; "Negritos of Northern Luzon again", in *Anthropos*, 1929, xxiv, 3-75, 897-911, and 1930, xxv, 25-71, 527-65.

upon our main problem, is not strictly essential to its solution, so we need not here discuss it in detail.²

Now that we have covered these necessary preliminaries, we are in a position to take up in order the actual evidence bearing directly on the question which is the subject of the present paper.

1. *Material Culture.* As regards material culture, the Negritos are very like their neighbors, the pagan and Christian Malays. There are, it is true, some important differences and a number of minor ones. Many or most of the Negritos either do not cultivate rice at all,—though they are very fond of it,—or else, if they do plant it, are very apt to abandon their fields before the rice is ripe for harvesting. The characteristic Negrito weapon is the bow and arrow, the arrow being often poisoned, whereas the modern Malay habitually uses the spear and headaxe, without poison. And there are other differences in material culture. But, all in all, the bulk of Negrito material culture is so similar to or identical with that of the neighboring Malays that there can be no reasonable doubt of genetic relationship between the two. It seems almost equally clear that the resemblances are due to borrowing on the part of the Negritos.³ Were there question only of material culture, the evidence we have would strongly suggest that Negrito culture is little but a faint and somewhat blurred and distorted reflection of that of the Malays.

2. *Psychic culture.* When, however, we pass to other aspects of Negrito life and culture we are at once confronted with a very different picture. Here also, to be sure, there are a number of obvious similarities, due in all probability to borrowing from the Malays. For instance, the Negritos in contact with the Isneg practise, like the latter, male circumcision, or incision, whereas those living near the Kalinga, among whom circumcision is rare, do not practise it. These latter Negritos, on the other hand, wear earrings exactly like the ones worn by the Kalinga. The dance that forms part of the prayer ceremony of the Negritos residing among the Isneg is clearly Isneg. And there are other fairly clear evi-

² Cf. Vanoverbergh, *Anthropos*, 1929, xxiv, 15, 41; The Isneg, Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 1932, iii, no. 1, 57-58. One group of Kagayan even today talks a language very like Isneg.

³ The concrete evidence for such Negrito borrowing of a number of traits has been given by me *passim* in the three sources mentioned above in note 1.

dences of Negrito borrowing.⁴ But with these local or scattered similarities the identity in psychic culture ceases, and gives way to sharp contrast along fundamental lines. It was this contrast, only sensed, as it were, and but loosely analyzed at first, which most vividly impressed me during my earliest contacts with the Negritos after fifteen years of residence among the pagan and Christian Malays. Here, it seemed, was something entirely different. It was like stepping into a new world.

a. "*Psychology*" and character. This vivid impression of contrast was no doubt caused in part by the very striking contrasts in what we may call the "psychology" of the Negritos as compared with that of the Malays. This "psychology" or character is itself largely, if not entirely, a cultural phenomenon.

The Negrito is boisterous, impulsive, ebullient, volatile, impetuous, vivacious. The Malay is reserved, restrained, cold-blooded, controlled. The Malay habitually holds his thoughts and emotions in leash; the Negrito does not. The Negrito is open and outspoken; he is apt to blurt out the truth, and actually I have found him very truthful. One almost gets the impression that he is unable to conceal his thoughts, or to keep back what he knows. The Malay is quite the reverse. Again, the trustfulness, the artlessness, and often the gullibleness of the Negrito are poles apart from the suspiciousness, artfulness, and calculating shrewdness of the Malay.

I should not wish to attach too much significance to these and to many other "psychological" contrasts, as their bearing on the problem we are discussing may be open to some question. But that they have some bearing thereon cannot be gainsaid, since they represent, in large measure at least, contrasts that are cultural and not purely psychic and that do not appear to be adequately explained by the respective nomadic and sedentary life of Negritos and Malays. Let us now pass to what are probably more significant and diagnostic differences, particularly those that obtain in the social and magico-religious fields.

b. *Social culture*. The Negritos are monogamous, and pretty strictly so. I have come across only two real cases of bigamy, and these among the Negritos of Allaka'pan who are in very close

⁴ Cf. *passim* in sources given under note 1.

touch with Malays, much more so than are the Negritos of Na'gan among whom I found no bigamy at all. All other Negritos I have met are living in monogamy, and it seems clear, from other evidence gathered, not only that monogamy is the rule but also that polygyny is disapproved. Among the Isneg, on the other hand, polygyny is common, and there is no tribal feeling against it, but rather the contrary. An Isneg, for instance, may have as many wives as he can afford, and the many Isneg who have two or more wives are quite proud of the fact.

Divorce is very rare among the Negritos, whereas it is very common among the pagan Malays. Where divorce does occur among the Negritos, the cause, so far as I can learn, is infidelity. The couple never separate on account of childlessness, one of the most common grounds for divorce among the pagan Malays, nor on account of laziness or lack of hospitality on the part of the wife, a very common ground for divorce among the Isneg. In case of adultery, laziness or inhospitality on the part of his wife, an Isneg man is almost in duty bound to divorce his wife; among the Negritos, in case of adultery, the man may, but usually does not, divorce his mate.

There are no marriage ceremonies among the Negritos. A few presents are usually given to the girl's parents,—though such gifts before marriage are not a *conditio sine qua non*,—and the young couple just go off together. Among the Isneg, marriage ceremonies are very elaborate. Among the Isneg, too, go-betweens,—a man, an old woman relative of the boy, or a girl who is not a widow,—arrange marriages. There are no go-betweens among the Negritos; at most, there occur consultation and agreement between the parents of the prospective mates.

Among the pagan Malays, the killing of twins is general, and even among the Christian Malays there is a decided feeling against twins. There is no feeling against or killing of twins among the Negritos. The child is commonly carried on the hips by the Malays. This method is rarely used by Negritos who commonly carry infants or small children on the arm or in a piece of cloth on the back.

The Negritos freely tell you their own names, the names of their father-in-law and mother-in-law, and even the names of the dead. The Isneg never give you the names of the dead, or of their

father-in-law or mother-in-law, and it is not polite to ask an Isneg his name. If an Isneg child gets sick or his parents die, his name is changed. The Negritos never do this.

Headhunting exists, or rather existed, as a characteristic and deeply-imbedded custom among all the Malays of Northern Luzon. Incidentally, we may mention in passing, the Isneg practised it in a peculiar way, cutting off, not the whole head as was the custom of the other Mountain Province Malays, but only the upper part of the skull from just above the eyebrows,—roughly speaking, the calvarium. There is absolutely no trace of headhunting among any of the Negritos with whom I am familiar.

c. *Magico-religious culture.* The Malays of the Mountain Province have a luxuriant abundance of magico-religious observances, such as taboos, omens, dream-interpretation, lucky and unlucky days, amulets, ordeals, divining procedures, and so forth. There is a teeming multitude of them, and this among all the Malays, Christian as well as pagan. Dreams, sneezing, meeting a snake, the coming of a bird into the house, the blowing of a leaf along the floor, anything in fact at all unusual, and many things that are not, will give rise to speculation as to the "reason" therefor, as to what they may promise or portend. Among the Isnegs, I have not found, it is true, any trace of ordeals and gall-bladder divination which are so characteristic of the other Malays, but, apart from these two traits, among the Isneg, as among the other Malay peoples of the Mountain Province, every-day "superstitions" are legion. You run into them at every turn and at every hour of the day, and they are easily discovered by even a casual observer.

There are almost no such "superstitions" among the Negritos, and the very few they have are almost entirely of local, not universal, occurrence among them, and are almost entirely, and perhaps entirely, borrowed from the Malays. The Negritos attach no magico-religious significance to such things as dreams, sneezing, or meeting snakes. They have no lucky or unlucky days. They practise no ordeals or divination. They have virtually no taboos or omens. Even the rare trinkets or amulets used by a Negrito here and there are for the most part quite like those used by the Malays, who attribute specific meanings or powers to them, whereas some Negritos believe in such magical powers, some do not, and of those who do some explain them one way, some another.

In a word, while the Malays are extremely and most markedly "superstitious", the Negritos are just as markedly and strikingly free from "superstitious" beliefs and practices.

Among the Isneg, sickness is apt to be attributed to the intrusion of some object into the sick person; among the Kankanay and other Malays, to the departure of the soul from the body. Death is commonly attributed to these more or less "supernatural" causes. I have found no trace of such beliefs or theories among the Negritos. Death, among the Negrito, is looked upon as a natural and necessary thing, not, as so often among the Malays, as due to magic or other unnatural cause.

The Negritos dress the dead person in his best apparel for burial, but do not deposit his bow and arrow or other belongings in the grave; they have no set burial rites, so far as I can learn. The Isneg have elaborate burial ceremonies, and deposit the dead person's belongings in the grave.

Both the Negritos and the Isneg practise supine burial, though the Isneg occasionally bury the body with legs flexed. The Kankanay bury in sitting posture or with legs flexed; the Kalinga and Ifugaw, in sitting posture.

Very great fear of the dead characterizes the Malays, both pagan and Christian. There appears to be no fear of ghosts among the Negritos. The pagan Malays use various means to keep ghosts of the dead away. The Kankanay for instance, use songs; the Isneg, other magical devices. The Negritos have, so far as I can discover, nothing of this kind. The one prayer to the dead I obtained seems in fact to imply just the reverse. A Negrito woman had died and the lament ran: "Come back, do not stay where you are!" The Kankanay would say just the reverse: "Do not come back; make a fence over the road where you passed so that nobody follow you!"

The Malays are decidedly animistic. There are spirits everywhere. I have a list of some hundreds known to and believed in by the Isneg alone, but, even so, my list is probably far from complete. There seems to be little if any such animism in Negrito culture. To this point we shall return in a moment.

The Kankanay religion, like that of most of the other Malays, is dominantly ritualistic. Some shamanism exists, but it plays a secondary rôle in the prevalent magico-religious culture. The

Isneg, on the contrary, are predominantly shamanistic, with very few traces of true ritualism.

The Isneg shaman, usually a woman, works herself into a frenzy or goes into a trance, and becomes possessed by one or more spirits, who may or may not be ghosts of the dead. The spirit or spirits enter into and possess her, and talk and work through her. She cures sickness by extracting from the ailing part of the patient's body a bit of iron or a tuft of grass or an herb or some other intruded object that is the cause of the illness. Kankanay shamanism is quite different. The shaman is not possessed by a spirit. Instead he or she talks to, struggles with, and tries to overcome and vanquish the non-obsessing spirit, that has caused the illness. The soul of the ill person is supposed to have left the body,—as it is generally among the Mountain Province Malays, except the Isneg,—and the shaman goes around with a rooster and a winnowing sieve to capture the wandering soul of the patient.

In contrast with both of these two differing concepts, shamanism has no part in Negrito culture, nor have I come across among the Negritos either of the above theories of illness. I know one Negrito who practises a type of shamanism that is purely Isneg. But this case of Negrito shamanism is entirely exceptional and unique, and is evidently due to recent borrowing.

The Kankanay have a clear conception of a Supreme Being, who is, however, of the "otiose", inactive type, as is the Supreme Being, so far as believed in at all, among the other pagan Malays. The numerous ghosts and gods and lesser spirits are the recipients of the lion's share of worship and sacrifice. Among the Isneg I can find no belief in a Supreme Being or chief of the spirits or of the spirit-world. In a word, both among the Isneg and among the other Malays, pluralism is the dominant note,—a pluralistic animism, manism, or both.

The Negritos certainly believe in a Supreme Being, and one who is not otiose but actively concerned with man. He is, to use their own expression, "the one who placed the earth" and who is owner of all. He gives the Negritos their livelihood, and first-fruit sacrifices are offered to Him in return. He certainly rewards the good, and probably punishes the wicked. The concept of "oneness" is so prominent in the Negrito's statements and prayers that we may be fairly justified in calling his belief not only theism but monotheism.

It is certainly very curious, and, I believe, significant, that even where a Negrito has made statements to me regarding *spirits* or *ghosts*, the texts of prayers to *them* given me immediately afterwards were always in the *singular*, never in the plural, referring to a single being, never to a plurality of beings. A Malay on the contrary, be he pagan or Christian, will always on such occasions use the plural, "ghosts" or "spirits". The most reasonable explanation of this anomaly is that the Negritos have taken over later from the Malays certain animistic or manistic tenets and have failed to articulate them well with their own native tenets. In fact, I have found even these seemingly superficial and secondary accretions only among Negritos who are in closer touch with pagan and Christian Malays. They are apparently absent from the "wild" Negritos, among whom I find marked monolatry and monotheistic trends, with no evidence of pluralism.⁵

The typical and sole clear sacrifice offered by the Negritos is a first-fruit sacrifice of game killed. Before the people partake of the meat, a little piece of it is cut off, and put on the ground or stuck in a tree, and an informal prayer of petition for future generosity is said, usually to the Being who has given the game, and in the singular, as noted above, even in those cases when under seeming Malay influence the sacrifice is to the spirits or ghosts.

The only thing at all similar to this in Malay practice is the occasional sacrifice, if it can be so called, of a little rice or rice-wine, without any words or prayer. Even the Christians will sometimes pour a little of the rice-wine on the ground before drinking. The Negritos, too, sometimes so "sacrifice" a bit of the rice, and without any prayer, but whether this custom has been borrowed by these non-rice-growing nomads from their rice-growing neighbors is not clear. At any rate, the Isneg, and so far as I am aware the other Malays, never practise first-fruit offerings of game, such as wild boar or deer. The typical Isneg sacrifice is the blood-sacrifice, usually of dogs, sometimes of chickens and pigs, while the typical sacrifice or the other Malays is the blood-sacrifice of chickens or pigs.

Not only in its broad lines and fundamental pattern but in almost

⁵ The detailed evidence that Negrito theism is not due to Christian influence has been discussed by me elsewhere and need not be repeated here. Cf. *Anthropos*, xx, 1925, 436, and xxv, 1930, 544, 550-51.

every detail the prayer ceremony of the Negritos is in sharpest contrast with the ritual observances of the Malays. Among the Negritos, the prayer ceremony, the central public religious rite in their culture, has neither sacrifice nor feasting connected with it; the pagan Malay public religious rites, as distinct from shamanistic curing and other private procedures, are normally centered around blood-sacrifices and accompanied by feasting and rejoicing.

The Negrito ceremony is a nocturnal one. When dawn comes, it is interrupted, and is then continued when night falls. The Malay ceremony is diurnal, and only occasionally prolonged into the evening. When night comes, it is interrupted, and is then continued the next day. The Malays object to the presence of children and strangers; the Negritos have no such objection, so far as I can discover.

The Negrito ceremony can be carried out at any time, it seems. The pagan Malays carry out their rites only for special purposes and on special occasions, such as sickness, nuptials, harvests, and so forth.

Among the Negritos, all present, men and women, take part in singing the chief prayer, one now for the most part in a language—perhaps or probably originally Negrito—no longer understood by them. Among the pagan Malays, the prayers are recited or sung by the shaman or priest.

We may sum up as follows the foregoing discussion of magico-religious culture. The Isneg and other pagan Malays of Northern Luzon have legions of superstitions and show a marked development of animistic, manistic and magical beliefs and practices. The blood-sacrifice is typical. The religion of the Isneg is dominantly shamanistic; that of the other pagan Malays,—the Kalinga, the Bontok, the Ifugaw, the Kankanay, and the Ibaloy,—dominantly ritualistic. In contrast, the Negritos have extremely few superstitions and show only the slightest traces of animistic, manistic, and magical beliefs and practices. The first-fruit sacrifice is typical. The religion of the Negritos is dominantly theistic, or, we may be fairly justified in saying, monotheistic, without either shamanism or ritualism.

Conclusion. The foregoing evidence seems to point pretty clearly to the conclusion that while the material culture of the Negrito of Northern Luzon has been for the most part borrowed from

the surrounding Malays, his "psychological", social, and magico-religious culture is not borrowed but is his own, sharply contrasting in its main pattern with that of the neighboring Malays and but slightly and superficially modified thereby.

NAVAHO GAMES OF CHANCE AND TABOO

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IN PRIMITIVE MAN, V, 68-71, Dr. Albert B. Reagan writes of the Navaho: "In the years ago they played a pole game and a three-stick dice game, the former being called Nahezshosh and the latter, Setdilh. They also played the Moccasin Game. But for some reason these became tabooed, and, instead, they now play our games, such as football and baseball, and various card games". He then gives an account of 'native' sports, the horse race, footrace, wrestling and the chicken pull. The present writer desires to offer some suggestions on Navaho games of chance which he believes will supplement Dr. Reagan's remarks. These suggestions however will concern only games which are mentioned in the above quotation. The reader will find a fair account of the entire field of Navaho native sports and games of chance presented in 'An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language' Franciscan Fathers, Saint Michaels, Arizona, 1910, pp. 478-89.

The footrace is well known in Navaho legends and folklore. The toad is usually made to urinate in the path of the challenger, and the resulting mud puddle as a rule retards the speed of the runner-up and thus decides the race in favor of a challenged hero. The coyote and badger, or the coyote and skunk are also favorite foot racers with the result that the fleet coyote is outwitted by his slower opponents. This form of sport therefore is well known. Horse racing was undoubtedly quickly adopted by the tribe after the acquisition of horses. The sport was very probably taken over with the saddle and bridle from the Spaniards, as the old native saddle tree and bridle bit, headstall, reins and lariat were closely patterned after Spanish models. Horse racing, needless to say, is not mentioned in the folklore of the Navaho.

Wrestling as now understood finds no mention in the legends so

far as I am aware. But there is a form of testing muscular strength by pushing a buried pole. I surmise that the present grappling for a fall between two contestants is adopted either from other tribes, or is a modern acquisition from schools. Wrestling, and testing muscular strength in the folkloristic sense, are practically identical terms in Navaho. The '*correr el gallo*', or running the chicken, is still a well known New Mexican sport and much enjoyed in Mexican villages. The Navaho term for chicken pull, too, shows unmistakable borrowing from Spanish sources—*nàhòxài* denotes a chicken and the sport of chicken pulling. All of these sports are delightful pastimes of the Navaho.

Sports and games of chance are not taboo. Therefore, as Dr. Reagan points out, they may take place 'during some feast-dance occasion'. I am presuming that Dr. Reagan had religious ceremonials in mind when he speaks of 'feasts', 'feast-dances', 'day-time dances', or 'a feast-dance day'. Naturally there are long intervals during three, five and nine night ceremonials in which the singer and his helpers are idle. This may happen either because the ceremonies of the morning are concluded, or because the ritual requires only a short afternoon ceremony and the singer must await the arrival of late afternoon or evening for night ceremonies. Nothing in Navaho ritual seems to forbid that these intervals be filled with races or other games of chance. The moccasin game (*k'édjé'*), the bounding stick game (*tsidìt*), card games like coon can and monte, and (formerly) hoop and pole (*nà'ájə̀c*) are permissible near and on the ceremonial grounds.

We should hesitate therefore to subscribe to the statement that 'for some reason these' (pole game, three-stick dice game, moccasin game) 'became tabooed'. Most, if not all, Navaho taboos are based upon a religious theory, but Navaho religion, as we have said, does not taboo games of chance. The taboo, we think, would have banned sports and games from the ceremonial grounds altogether. Not only this, but the taboo which, as is assumed in the above quotation, developed later, should have forbidden these games from the very start. The fact that they were in vogue 'years ago' would seem to indicate that they could formerly be played with impunity. More than that, we also find that at present they are not altogether discontinued.

It is not unusual to find young men gathered at some hogan of

a winter's night enjoying the old-fashioned moccasin game. The wager may be a few matches, a silver button, or a quarter of a dollar,—in a word, negligible. But as the hidden ball is either found or remains 'unguessed', the one hundred and two counters pass back and forth between the two teams. They may taunt each other with the traditional gambling songs and, as the fortunes of the game turn, these songs become livelier, the interest becomes keener, sleep is forgotten and all players are absorbed in the game. The appearance of full dawn alone puts a stop to the sport, but there is no reason why a fresh start cannot be made on the following night. The bounding stick game is a woman's game. The Dictionary on page 482 illustrates Mrs. tsinà' djini in the act of awaiting the result of the falling billets. The writer was able to snap this photo some time in 1908. Since then the sheep industry, weaving and increased domestic duties are not favorable to the pastime which, therefore, is being discontinued more and more.

The discontinuance of hoop and pole need not be placed too far back in the past. About 1916 the writer induced one of his friends, since deceased, to reproduce the hoop and pole in actual size. The man was called *nàkàì díné'í*, a Mexican clan man, because he was a prominent clan and headman of Redrock, Arizona. People told of him that he was no mean antagonist in hoop and pole, and other native games. His innocent looks belied his dexterity so that, among local white residents, he was dubbed Foxy Grandpa, after a cartoon of those days. At any rate the hoop he reproduced was about six to seven inches in diameter; the two poles, when lashed together with the turkey feet dangling at the center, measured close to eight feet. An illustration of the hoop and pole can be found on pp. 482-3 of the Dictionary. Another pole was known as *nà' àjòc là' àz'é'* 'a complete hoop pole in one' because, instead of lashing the two poles together, a single pole was used. The size of all poles would be about the same length, excepting the miniature hoop and pole mentioned in the Dictionary. Now, although transportation of the two poles, to be lashed together, or of the long single pole would be quite possible for a professional hoop-poler, the inconvenience of carrying them in the saddle is obvious. Undoubtedly too, a course had to be selected over which the hoop could be conveniently trundled.

These inconveniences probably contributed towards making the

sport a matter of three to four days at most and, we may surmise, gradually led to its abandonment. Our informant, for instance, felt that a deck of cards offered the same bracing pastime, exposed to less fatigue, and the stakes could easily be doubled! It would seem then, that these and similar native games were never thought of as forbidden fruit, but had outlived their usefulness as soon as easier substitutes were found.

The moccasin game seems to be based on the belief that the prevalence of day over night was to be decided by the game, in other words, whether the human race should have the change of day and night at all. The game was a long-drawn affair, deception even was practiced, and the opposing players found that the owl was holding the ball in his claws! On four successive nights the game was played and each time interrupted by the appearance of dawn. The game therefore never was concluded and matters were left as they were. In consequence we have day and night, and animals that travel and are active at night and such as are active in broad daylight. The bounding stick game too figures largely in the separation of the sexes in the underworlds. Instead of attending to domestic chores the women spent much of their time in gambling. An overdose in gambling therefore is obviously detrimental as shown by the separation of sexes. Hoop and pole too is played by the supernaturals themselves, and humans are permitted to enjoy themselves in a similar manner. The three games then seem to be founded on religious beliefs and are commended on this score rather than prohibited.

It may be of interest to note that such names as *nà'ájóci*, the hoop-poler, and *nà'ájócin biyé'*, the son of the late hoop-poler, are good Navaho names of men even today. We can therefore infer that, in his prime, the bearer of that name must have been an experienced gambler with the pole. And since hoop-poler senior died three or four years ago at the age of seventy or more, the game was probably in vogue in his youth. We can also assume that his acquaintances, who gave him the name, never considered the possibility of tabooing hoop-pole, of which game he was an ardent exponent. To give him the name of a thing tabooed would be a departure in established custom, which presumes that tribesmen will respect a taboo. To disregard anything to be feared or tabooed (*báhádzid*) is to expose one's self deliberately either to danger and death, or to be branded as a witch.

No opprobrium attaches to the name 'ádákà'í, which at present denotes a gambler at cards, but formerly designated a seven dice gambler, as these cubes were squared at least on the bottom side. One of my old friends now deceased, used to be called ádiłdili, the stick bounder, because he gambled at this woman's game. In his case there was the added phenomenon of being a nádlè or changer, a name which implies that the man is proficient not only in feminine accomplishments, but also practices pederasty. While his name, stick bounder, was suggestive of his proclivities to those that knew of them, one cannot say that his feminine name really stigmatized him in society, for he was a well versed Blessing way singer and much in demand. At any rate these few instances of names of gamblers seem to favor the argument that a religious taboo was never attached to sports and games of chance. Our conclusion is rather, that amusement, diversion, pastime and undoubtedly profit were sought and found in them. Their partial discontinuance is due to such circumstances as the modern educational program, an increase in the sheep and cattle industry, the time-consuming old methods of gambling and the time-saving newer ones.

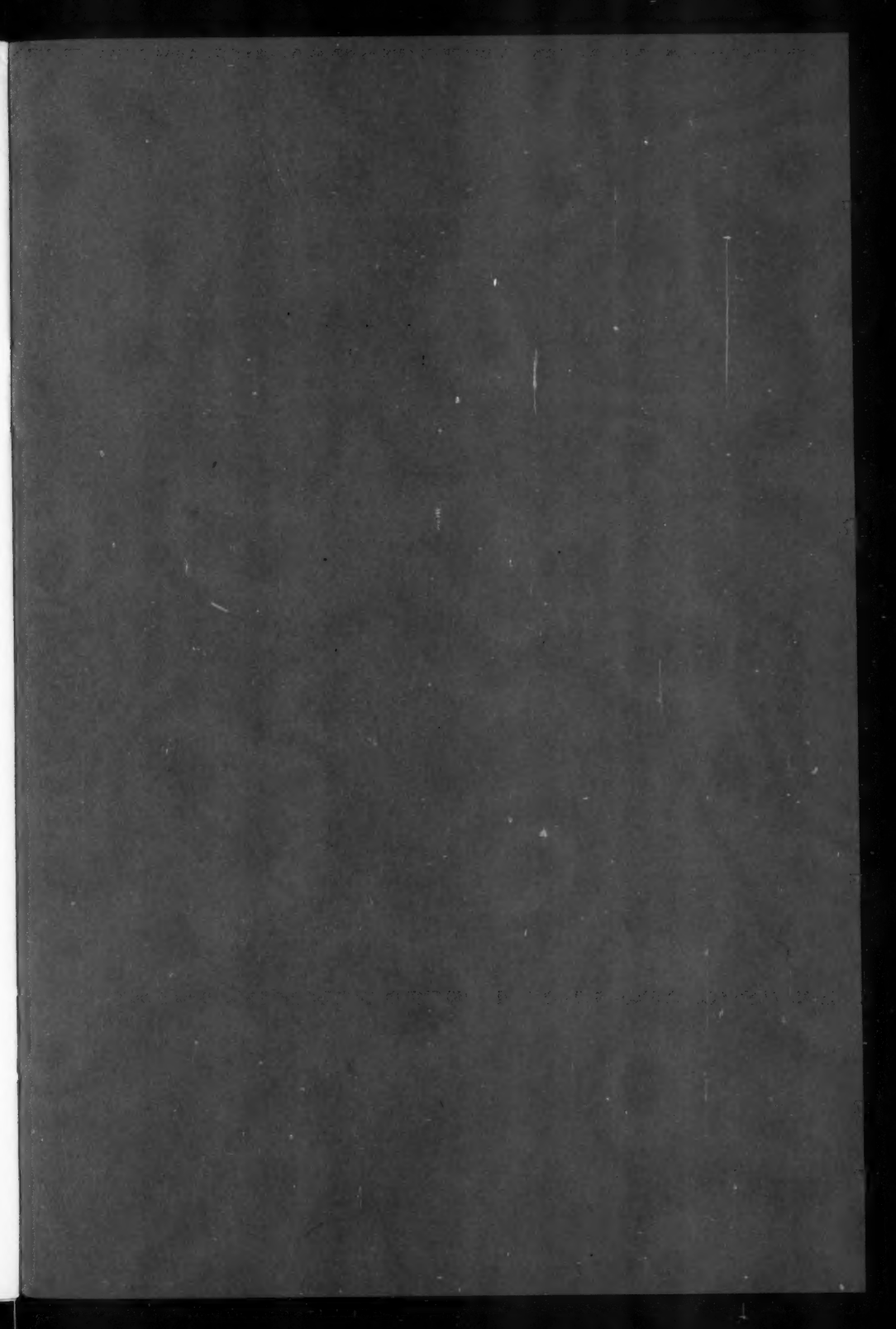
Since the game of hoop and pole has practically disappeared among the Navaho I am presenting some additional notes which are not found in the *Ethnologic Dictionary*. My informant is the late Mexican clan man of Red Rock, Arizona, mentioned above.

To avoid the labor of preparing a course for the game certain localities where level ground free of weeds could be found were selected. One of these was in the recesses of the lower Lukachukai Mountains. Cotton wood or quaking aspen poles of convenient sizes were selected and lashed together with buckskin thongs, to the ends of which five so-called turkey feet (txáji 'i'lkè'í, turkey like feet) were wound. The center toe was longer than the rest and was called the 'ánéji', long one. It was thus especially designated because, with the two thongs next to it, the resemblance of the 'turkey foot' was suggested. These three thongs were important scoring points in the thrust. The tip of the pole was tied with a thong called the "first cord", because it struck the hoop first. The space on the pole below the first cord was called the "twig", because the cord suggested a twig tied to the tip of the pole. In like manner a thong was wound at the butt or grip end

of the pole and was known as the 'àt'lá'lt'ló'l or bottom cord. Just about this, where the thrower gripped the pole for the thrust, we have the 'àt'lá'' bottom, or specifically nà'ájəc bit'lá'', the bottom of the pole.

In throwing the pole at the rolling hoop the object was to cause the hoop to bridge the pole in some manner. The name nà'ájəc means 'the bridging'. A number of possibilities presented themselves. Both contestants might thrust their poles to fall side by side, and the turkey feet of both poles would be covered equally for a tie by the falling hoop. Or the opponent's pole might cover the first pole before the hoop 'bridged' them. The hoop could also bridge the center of the pole, its turkey feet, the 'long' toe, or the two smaller ones, the first cord, the twig, the bottom cord, or the bottom of the pole. All these bridgings were worth as many points as previously agreed upon, some asking four and six points for certain cords on the pole. A point thus scored meant that the stake was increased four or six times. Thus, if a stake of twenty-five cents had been placed and players had agreed on four for every point scored, the winner would take a dollar, and so on. Both players had their own poles and the winner of a thrust always had the privilege of rolling the hoop.¹

¹ The Athapaskan alphabet gives vowels the sound of German and Spanish vowels. A period following a vowel indicates a long vowel. Tone is indicated by ` for low tone, ´ for high. There is no accent. Consonants as in English, but hard dentals are often glottalized in t', t's, t'c, t'ł. Barred ł indicates an aspirated lateral, k' a glottalized k, j as in azure, c as in shall, tc as in church, ts as in pretzel, dj as in John, dz as in adze. In the present paper inverted c (ɔ) is used for a nasalized o, low tone, and italic n for accented n.



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